

Message Text

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EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT TEL AVIV 0479 ACTION SECSTATE INFO CAIRO AMMAN
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QUOTE

S E C R E T TEL AVIV 0479

EXDIS -- HANDLE AS NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, IS, EG, US, XF

SUBJECT: AGENDA FOR JERUSALEM MEETINGS

REF: A) STATE 5218, B) STATE 06679 (NOTAL)

1. MET WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AND EVRON AT BEGIN'S
RESIDENCE IN JERUSALEM AT 1730 JANUARY 11. MEETING WAS
SET UP PREVIOUSLY ON ANOTHER SUBJECT, BUT I DECIDED TO
USE OPPORTUNITY TO CARRY OUT INSTRUCTIONS IN REFS A AND B
WITH RESPECT TO AGENDA FOR JERUSALEM MEETINGS. JUST
BEFORE GOING INTO MEETING, STERNER'S TELEPHONE MESSAGE

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WAS RELAYED TO ME THROUGH CONGEN JERUSALEM TO EFFECT THAT
EILTS HAD REPORTED SADAT FOUND THE ISRAELI COUNTERPROPOSALS
FOR THE AGENDA "TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE," BUT THAT HE COULD
"GO ALONG" WITH THE U.S. PROPOSALS.

2. FOLLOWING CLOSELY TALKING POINTS IN PARA FIVE OF
REF B AND PARAS THREE, FOUR, FIVE, AND SEVEN OF REF A,

I EXPLAINED REASONING BEHIND OUR BELIEF THAT TIME PRESSURES REQUIRED US TO PUT FORWARD OUR OWN NEUTRAL SUGGESTIONS FOR AGENDA AT THIS POINT. I TOLD BEGIN THAT I HAD JUST HAD WORD THAT SADAT WAS UNABLE TO ACCEPT DAYAN'S COUNTERPROPOSALS, AND THAT IN VIEW OF SHORTAGE OF TIME AMBASSADOR EILTS HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED TO PUT OUR PROPOSED COMPROMISE AGENDA TO HIM. I WENT ON TO SAY THAT SADAT'S INITIAL REACTION WAS APPARENTLY FAVORABLE. I THEN HANDED BEGIN A COPY OF OUR THREE POINT PROPOSED AGENDA, TAKEN FROM PARA THREE (A, B, AND C) OF REF A. PARA 3. BEGIN WAS CLEARLY STUNG. HE READ THE PROPOSALS QUICKLY, STARTED TO REACT VIGOROUSLY AND THEN CAUGHT HIMSELF. HE SAID THAT FIRST OF ALL HE WAS "VERY UNHAPPY" THAT WE HAD GIVEN THIS PROPOSAL TO SADAT FIRST AND THAT SINCE HE HAD APPARENTLY ACCEPTED IT, ISRAEL WAS IN A POSITION OF DISAGREEING WITH BOTH OF US. I POINTED OUT THAT THE SECRETARY HAD OUTLINED IT EARLIER TO SIMCHA DINITZ IN WASHINGTON BEFORE IT WAS GIVEN TO SADAT; BEGIN'S REACTION WAS INTERESTING. HE SAID "WELL IT'S ONE THING TO GIVE IT TO SIMCHA, IT'S ANOTHER TO GIVE IT TO A SADAT*"

4. BEGIN SAID FLATLY THAT HE CANNOT ACCEPT OUR DRAFT. HE HAS A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS WITH IT, BUT HE WOULD NEED TO DISCUSS IT WITH DAYAN BEFORE GIVING ANY FORMAL RESPONSE. THIS WOULD MEAN WE WOULD NOT HAVE THEIR
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RESPONSE UNTIL FRIDAY AFTERNOON, SINCE DAYAN DOES NOT RETURN UNTIL LATE THURSDAY NIGHT.

5. I THEN TRIED TO DRAW HIM OUT ON HIS DIFFICULTIES WITH OUR DRAFT, BEYOND THE FACT THAT WE HAD GOTTEN SADAT'S APPROVAL BEFORE SHOWING IT TO HIM. MAKING CLEAR THAT HE WAS SPEAKING "UNOFFICIALLY" UNTIL HE HAD TALKED TO DAYAN, HE THEN WENT THROUGH A LENGTHY "LOGICAL EXERCISE" WITH ME IN TAKING APART THE LANGUAGE. HIS ESSENTIAL POINTS ARE TWO IN NUMBER: A. WE HAVE USE SOME OF THE LANGUAGE OF 242 FOR THE FIRST AGENDA ITEM, BUT HAVE REVERSED THE LANGUAGE IN KEY PLACES AND HAVE ADDED THE ELEMENT OF "A JUST SOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM" WHICH DOES NOT APPEAR AT ALL IN 242. IF WE WERE GOING TO USE 242 -,AND THE ELEMENTS THEREFROM, IN BEGIN'S VIEW, WE HAVE TO USE THEM EXACTLY AS THEY APPEAR IN THE RESOLUTION--WHICH MEANS A CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENCE FROM OUR TEXT.

5. THE PHRASE "A SOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM IN ALL ITS ASPECTS" REMAINS AS UNACCEPTABLE TO BEGIN NOW AS IT DID DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN DAYAN,

PRESIDENT CARTER AND THE SECRETARY IN NEW YORK IN OCTOBER. HE WILL NOT ACCEPT LANGUAGE WHICH LUMPS TOGETHER, AS THIS DOES, THE PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH PALESTINIANS LIVING ELSEWHERE IN THE REGION (THE REFUGEE PROBLEM) WITH THE PROBLEM OF THE PALESTINIAN ARABS LIVING IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. THE KIND OF LANGUAGE WHICH HE WOULD INSIST ON FOR AGENDA ITEM TWO WOULD BE SOMETHING LIKE "THE GUIDELINES FOR NEGOTIATION OF A SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF THE PALESTINIAN ARABS RESIDENT IN JUDEA, SAMARIA, AND GAZA." (OR I THINK IN EXTREMIS HE MIGHT ACCEPT "RESIDENT IN THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA DISTRICT.")

6. HE HAD NO PROBLEM WITH THE THIRD OF OUR AGENDA ITEMS. BUT HE POINTED OUT THAT THE REFERENCE HERE TO
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RESOLUTION 242 SEEMS BOTH REDUNDANT AND CONTRADICTORY WITH THE WAY IN WHICH AGENDA ITEM ONE IS FRAMED.

7. THERE THEN ENSUED A LENGTHY AND SOMEWHAT PHILOSOPHICAL DISCUSSION OF HOW ONE FRAMES AGENDAS, WITH LARGE ELEMENTS OF ANNOYANCE EVIDENT THAT WE HAVE DEVIATED FROM THE PRECISE LANGUAGE OF THE U.S.-ISRAELI WORKING PAPER NEGOTIATED BY DAYAN IN OCTOBER ON POINTS WHERE ITS LANGUAGE WOULD BE APPROPRIATE. BEGIN SAID AGAIN SEVERAL TIMES THAT HE WOULD NOT ACCEPT OUR AGENDA AND THAT HE WOULD GIVE US HIS FORMAL REACTIONS ONLY AFTER DAYAN RETURNED.

8. COMMENT: THIS WAS BEGIN AT HIS MOST LEGALISTIC AND MOST TYPICAL IN NEGOTIATING STYLE. HIS MOOD HAD OBVIOUSLY NOT BEEN IMPROVED BY THE SUBJECT WE DISCUSSED JUST BEFORE WE REACHED THIS ONE (PROBLEM OF ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS). BUT HE DID MAKE THE POINT THAT HE PRIDED HIMSELF ON HAVING ABOUT 40 YEARS EXPERIENCE IN WORKING ON AGENDAS FOR VARIOUS KINDS OF MEETINGS. AND HE SAW IMMEDIATELY, HE SAID, OUR PROPOSALS WERE "INTENDED TO MAKE THE EGYPTIANS HAPPY," BUT THEY WERE UNACCEPTABLE IN SEVERAL IMPORTANT ELEMENTS TO HIM.

9. I SUGGESTED AT ONE POINT THAT IN ORDER TO AVOID THIS WHOLE PROCESS BOGGING DOWN INTERMINABLY AND TAKING THE TIME OF THE CONFERENCE NEXT WEEK, PERHAPS WE MIGHT EVENTUALLY HAVE TO COME BACK TO SOMETHING VERY BLAND AND SIMPLE. MAKING CLEAR THAT IT WAS TOTALLY MY OWN OFF THE CUFF THOUGHT, I ASKED HOW HE WOULD REACT TO AN AGENDA WHICH WAS LIMITED TO THE FOLLOWING:

A. A DECLARATION OF THE PRINCIPLES WHICH WOULD GOVERN THE NEGOTIATION OF PEACE TREATIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST;
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B. THE GUIDELINES FOR NEGOTIATIONS; AND
C. THE ELEMENTS OF THE PEACE TREATIES BETWEEN ISRAEL
AND ITS NEIGHBORS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES WITH
SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242.

WITHOUT HESITATION HE SAID
THAT IF THAT WERE PUT TO HIM OFFICIALLY HE WOULD
ACCEPT IT AS A WAY AROUND AN IMPASSE. I
MADE CLEAR AGAIN THAT I HAD ABSOLUTELY NO AUTHORITY
TO DO SO, BUT WAS MERELY THINKING OUT LOUD IN LIGHT OF
HIS REACTION TO OUR PROPOSAL. HOWEVER, I
STRONGLY RECOMMEND IN THE INTERESTS OF GETTING THIS
SHOW ON THE ROAD THAT THE DEPARTMENT AND AMBASSADOR
EILTS THINK ABOUT WHETHER WE SHOULD NOT FALL BACK RIGHT
NOW TO SOMETHING LIKE WHAT I HAVE OUTLINED ABOVE.

10. THE NEXT INSTALLMENT IN THIS DRAMA SO FAR AS BEGIN IS
CONCERNED WILL TAKE PLACE LATE FRIDAY
AFTERNOON WHEN I EXPECT TO MEET WITH HIM AND
DAYAN BEFORE SUNDOWN. I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE WASHINGTON'S
REACTION TO THE PRESENT STATE OF PLAY HERE AND TO MY
FALLBACK SUGGESTION WELL BEFORE THAT MEETING.
LEWIS
UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER".

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